

KREBUTZ

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GUIDE TO THE KIBBUTZ

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A GUIDE TO THE KIBBUTZ

ICHUD HABONIM

Tel Aviv — Israel

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First edition — 1960
Second printing — 1961
Second edition — 1962
Third edition — 1964

Published by

ICHUD HABONIM
Hayarkon St. 111
Tel Aviv — Israel

Printed in Israel
by
"Israel Press", Ltd.

CONTENTS

Preface	7
What is a kibbutz?	9
Background	12
Equality	17
Problems of equality	21
The individual and the community	30
The family and education	38
Economics and works	44
Leisure, culture, arts	49
The kibbutz population	54
Ichud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim	59
The kibbutz and the nation	66
World Ichud Habonim	72
The "Anglo-Saxon" kibbutzim	75
Figures	81
Useful Addresses	83

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PREFACE

The Guide to the Kibbutz is intended as a brief introduction and survey for the English speaking reader, whose interest has been aroused in the kibbutz form of life. We have attempted to present to the reader the basic organisation of the kibbutz, its work, its social set-up, and its activity within the framework of the kibbutz movement.

The Guide to the Kibbutz does not attempt to describe the principles on which the kibbutz is based nor the philosophy which it has evolved. Neither are we able, within so little space, to give a truly comprehensive picture of this society, but can only hope that this introduction will act as an incentive to further reading.

WHAT IS A KIBBUTZ ?

The kibbutz of Israel is a unique type of society in its structure and in its mode of life. But it is not the only form of collective living in existence to-day, and it seems that its most distinguishing feature lies in its being a voluntary collective society which has never restricted itself to selected individuals and one which continues to grow. From a modest beginning of 8 people in 1909, the kibbutz movement has a membership to-day of 85,000.

Most other experiments at collective societies were either forced by authorities on an unwilling population, (e.g. the Russian Kolkhoz) or were restricted to certain religious sects and were open only to those who were willing to live according to stringent rules. The kibbutz (unlike the compulsory collectives) is an entirely voluntary society,

the government having no more authority over it than it has over other citizens of the country. On the other hand, it differs very much from the small sectarian type of collective. Most such communities are but isolated islands, with little hope of growth, and lacking influence on the surrounding society.

The kibbutz, on the other hand, includes amongst its members people with many divergent backgrounds and it comprises three different generations. Moreover, the kibbutz movement as a whole exercises great influence both on the economic and on the social life of Israel.

What then is this kibbutz type of collective living and why has it succeeded where others have failed? Strictly speaking, the kibbutz — or kvutza (there is hardly any difference to-day between these terms) — is a collective settlement in Israel, built on the principles of collective production, self-labour, communal sharing of the fruits of that labour, absence of private property, and government by democratic decisions.

However, like all definitions, this does not really do justice to the complexities of this new type of society, but deals mainly with abstract principles, which sound simple enough on paper but cause innumerable difficulties as soon as one tries to translate them into actual life. It is perhaps the secret of the kibbutz's success that, without de-

parting from the basic premise that one man should not benefit from the labour of others and that all should have an equal right to happiness and material well-being, it allowed for development and was willing to adjust its mode of life to changing circumstances.

In fact, the original kibbutz was not founded on fixed principles at all. The founders of the first collective settlement envisaged something quite different, and the present ideological and practical set-up is the result of the development, thought and experience of three different generations of settlers, coming from all over the world, who to-day make up the population of over 225 such kibbutzim.

BACKGROUND

The earliest attempts at communal life were probably made in Biblical times, and there are many records of "communes" in the period just prior to the rise of Christianity. These were mainly small sects of people who had withdrawn from the turbulent and often strife-torn life of the rest of the country, and had sought full justice and equality for the individual in the isolation of the desert. Isolated attempts of a similar nature took place through all of later history. The most famous of these were certainly the communal societies of the early socialists. None of these, however, lasted for more than a few years, and with the advent of Marxist "Scientific Socialism" even the Socialists opposed such experiments as being "Utopian" and a "hindrance to the real liberation of the working class".

Nevertheless, a few remnants of this type of commune still exist, most of them being based on an idea of the return to the ethical beliefs of early Christianity. The founders of the first kibbutzim were no doubt influenced both by the ethical and social ideals of the great Jewish prophets and by the rising Socialist movement at the beginning of this century. But in founding the first "Kvutza" they were, first of all, motivated by very practical considerations.

About 1905, a stream of young and inexperienced immigrants came from Eastern Europe to undeveloped and backward Palestine. They had but one desire: to rebuild their ancient homeland and lay the foundations for a Jewish State of their own. They were impatient with the protracted and unsuccessful political negotiations of the official Zionist movement; and they believed that if enough Jews actually settled in the country and worked the land themselves, this would have a decisive influence on the political negotiations. Subsequent developments proved them to have thought correctly.

They did not consider military conquest of the country, but invented a new term: The Conquest of Labour. However, they soon learned that to achieve this was by no means an easy matter. They had to fight disease and ward off attacks by

marauding Arab gangs. They lost some of their best members. They had to suffer privation and hardship. But, above all, they found that their employers preferred the cheap labour of poor and primitive Arabs, who had never heard of such matters as worker's organizations and whose needs could by no means be compared to those of the educated European immigrants. They also noted the exploitation of labour, both Jewish and Arab, which did not allow for the maintenance of a minimum, decent standard of living. Out of this grew their desire to become independent settlers on the land, who would not have to beg for work nor exploit one another, but would share both production and consumption.

Between 1906—1909, the first small groups of settlers undertook the communal management of two large farms owned by the Jewish National Fund (the land authority of the Zionist movement) and in 1909, the first kvutza was founded at Degania in the Jordan Valley.

Thus it can be seen that the kvutza was the result of a natural development rather than of pure abstract ideological thought. At first all members received a monthly wage, calculated on the basis of the net income of the farm. Later it was realised that this led to difficulties and inequality, especially between large and small families. Moreover, it was

practically impossible to differentiate between the value to the community of the work done by one or the other of its members; why then should there be differentiation in the living standards between these members? Realising this, the life of the kvutza was henceforth based on this guiding principle: *From each according to his ability; to each according to his need.*

But the kvutza soon ran into difficulties. There was more work than the members could do themselves, yet they rejected, on principle, the idea of hired labour. The small group of founders had grown to 20-25. But, in order to preserve the character and intimacy of the commune, they were slow to accept new members.

By that time (1919-23), new immigrants were arriving, bringing with them new ideas. Basing themselves on the ideas of the kvutza, they envisaged large, perhaps even country-wide "communes", called "Kibbutzim", which would accept the basic economic principles of the kvutza, all income being paid into a common fund from which all members would draw their expenses according to their needs. This short survey cannot describe fully all the subsequent developments in both groups; suffice it to say, that the difference between "Kvutza" and "Kibbutz", once hotly debated, has practically disappeared.

Such a settlement today may comprise anywhere between 60—1500 inhabitants (usually according to the age of the settlement), but none of them is countrywide, while all of them are glad to accept new members.

So far it has not been possible to adopt a constitution for the 200 or so kibbutzim and kvutzot and, in fact, there are considerable differences in their modes of life and social practices. Much of this is determined by size, age of members, local traditions, and length of time the settlement has existed, as well as by the ideas and feelings of the individual members of the particular kibbutz. Naturally, important events in one kibbutz may affect other kibbutzim, and there are various central kibbutz organizations which exert influence over their member settlements. Essentially, however, all kibbutzim are self-governing units, holding in common the basic principles of collective production and consumption and equality between members.

EQUALITY

Ever since the leaders of the French Revolution inscribed the proud words "*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*" on their banner, this motto has given rise to frequent controversies. Each political and social movement in turn has proclaimed that it alone has found the one and only road to the achievement of this goal. Yet, while some progress has undoubtedly been made during the last two hundred years, confusion over the term "Equality", in particular, has grown greater and greater.

The famous French writer, Anatole France, once said that in his country "all men are completely equal before the law — both rich and poor alike are forbidden to sleep under bridges or beg in the streets". This is not the type of equality advocated by the kibbutz. The kibbutz does not stand for

a formal, mechanical equality, where every member is treated exactly the same, receives exactly the same benefits from the community, and is expected to give exactly the same services as his neighbours. The kibbutz realises that human beings differ by nature in character, capabilities, physical and mental strength, and in many other ways which go to make up an individual's personality. The kibbutz believes that all men, although they differ, have an equal right to happiness and to the enjoyment of wealth produced by human labour.

Equality, in this sense, does not mean the equality of the conveyor belt. It means the equality of rights and opportunities, and absence of differentiation according to acquired or inherited wealth. The idea of a classless society was stirringly expressed by the prophets, especially by Isaiah and Amos, and in somewhat different words it has since become the professed aim of all socialist movements. But while some movements expect redemption to come through an "inevitable historical process", and others hope to achieve their object through political action and economic legislation aimed at equalising incomes, the kibbutz neither believes that this process is inevitable, nor that it depends merely on the size of income; but rather that it is primarily a matter of the individual.

The classless society depends on equality in

living standards, and this can be achieved only if the differences between individuals are fully taken into account. That is why, for instance, the kibbutz does not pay its members. Were it to do so, it is conceivable that new classes would emerge within a comparatively short time. The kibbutz does not expect the old or sick member to do the same amount or the same type of work as the young and healthy. It accepts the fact that some people will be better cooks and others better teachers, but it believes that our society needs both cooks and teachers in equal measure. It does not expect a married man with a large family to live on the same income as a bachelor, and it realises that the needs of human beings differ according to their different circumstances. In fact, it has abolished the very basis of the class society — private income — and, within the means at its disposal, it supplies its members according to their needs.

This indeed is the key to the theoretical basis of kibbutz life. It is an equalitarian society based on the recognition of the differences between human beings. It has been argued that equalitarianism is against human nature. If that is true, then so is all progress of mankind. It is "human nature" to liquidate any opponent who is in your way. It is "human nature" to do whatever you like regard-

less of your fellow men. It is "human nature" for the strong to exploit the weak. Or should we rather say, all this is "animal nature"? For the history of our civilization is little other than a long process of overcoming "human nature".

PROBLEMS OF EQUALITY

To say, "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs", was easy at the beginning. It simply meant an absence of all private property and private capital, all members doing their work to the best of their ability and each receiving his very modest requirements from the "commune". Like all pioneers, they started off under the most primitive conditions, with no capital of their own, and they were quite prepared and willing to face hardship and privation.

Now, it is not difficult to preserve equality when nobody has anything. While they all lived in tents, their only furniture — apart from beds — being empty fruit boxes, and their staple diet consisting of bread and olives, no problems arose. However, as time went by the collectives grew in size, they

became more prosperous, their members grew older, and most of them had families.

The difficulties brought about by this development were obvious ones. Take, for instance, the question of housing. Naturally the kibbutz was not in a position to build houses for all its members at once. So, when the first house was built it should, according to strict principles, have gone to the one most in need of a house. But apart from the few exceptions with regard to those who had to live in proper houses for health or other reasons, who was to decide which of the majority of members had the greatest need? Not being able to solve this problem satisfactorily according to strict principles of "to each according to his need", the kibbutz did the next best thing and decided on a system of "seniority" — or "first come, first served". It was seen, of course, that this was not entirely just, but absolute justice is hard to find anywhere. At least there is some justification in reasoning that those members who have lived longest under very primitive conditions should be the first to enjoy better housing, when the kibbutz is at last able to afford it.

The same system may also apply to furniture and other items. But to what degree "seniority" is felt to be only a temporary solution may be seen by the decision that all members (even the newest

ones) should first be given a certain minimum standard of furniture, and only then would the kibbutz proceed to make or buy luxury items for senior members.

If a kibbutz were really able to supply all its members' needs, no serious problems would arise. But there is of course no absolute limit to possible consumers' demands and, in any case, many kibbutzim are still engaged in a hard economic struggle. So certain norms had to be laid down; and the kibbutz, which opposes "mechanical equality" on a large scale, could not possibly avoid it in smaller matters. It is sometimes almost impossible to judge exactly what a person's needs are. While the kvutza was still a small group, a kind of family circle, a member simply went to the treasurer and asked for whatever he needed. But imagine the task of the treasurer in a kibbutz of say, 1,000, or even only 100 members! In any case, no one is happy having to ask approval for every small personal expense. Thus it was soon accepted that there were some expenses on which members' needs were roughly equal and therefore a "Personal Expense" budget was introduced, allowing each member a small yearly allowance to do with as he wished. This, however, applies only to small expenses. It is equal for each member because there is no way of measuring different needs. But in

the case of tobacco, for instance, measurement is possible. The smoker receives his needs from the kibbutz, and the idea that the non-smoker would have to be "compensated" is rejected. (Apart from some kibbutzim who, for health reasons, have recently started to devise methods in order to discourage members from smoking.)

But there are many border-cases which pose similar problems. A case in point is the question of clothing. In the early stages of kibbutz life there was no "private property" in clothing. Most kibbutzim had a communal clothing store, out of which members took whatever they needed and returned it to the laundry at the end of the week. It was not long before this was found to be not only extremely impracticable but also very unwise, and was replaced by a system whereby each member had his own clothing (washed and looked after by the communal laundry and repair shop). A certain scale was fixed according to which each member owned a certain optimum amount of clothing. With the growth and development of the kibbutz proposals were made that for this, too, a fixed yearly sum should be allocated to each member, to be entirely at his own disposal for the purchase of clothing. This, it was argued, would eliminate unnecessary dependence on the central institutions. However, others maintained that this

would be an unjustified departure from the principle of "to each according to his need" and would pave the way towards the payment of fixed overall salaries. No unified rule has been laid down and, as in so many other matters, each kibbutz decides according to its own wishes, and in different kibbutzim one may find different systems in operation, while the communal and equalitarian type of society has been preserved in all of them.

Perhaps the most difficult problem of all is the maintenance of a collective society in an environment which is run on entirely different and even opposing lines. The kibbutz — unlike other earlier collectives — has never cut itself off from its surroundings and, in fact, has always played a decisive role in the life of the country. But this close proximity of two very different forms of society has caused serious practical problems. What happens, for instance, when a member of a kibbutz, pledged to preserve the principle of equality, receives gifts from friends or relatives outside the kibbutz or, perhaps, inherits a large sum of money? Must he automatically hand this in to the common fund or to the common store of whatever commodity this happens to be?

Most kibbutzim take the attitude that, so long as such gifts are not especially solicited and do not appreciably raise one member's standard of

living above that of the others, no harm is done. Private property causes inequality only when it can be devoted to the accumulation of further property, or when standards of living become so far apart that it encourages class differences. Neither of these processes is allowed by any kibbutz. Large sums or important property, therefore, are handed to the collective.

When many kibbutz members received large sums of money as the result of German restitutions to Jews who had been robbed of their property by the Nazis, the kibbutz had to insist that this money be handed to the common kibbutz fund. If a member decides to leave the kibbutz, the money is returned to him, but as a member he can have no advantage over his fellow members. In most cases, members may use a small portion of this sum to buy themselves something "special" (mostly furniture, and earlier than the kibbutz could afford to supply it), to engage in some hobby, or sometimes even in order to take a trip abroad. But care is taken that this does not raise their living standard unduly above that of other members. Many kibbutzim also established an "equalisation fund" in order to give the same advantages to all members.

The general aim is to preserve the classless society without interfering in a member's life in

petty matters. What difference does it make, after all, if somebody is given some books or toys for his children, or even a piece of furniture? But how could the kibbutz possibly preserve the balance of its way of life if unlimited interference from the outside was allowed?

These are only a few of the many problems facing the kibbutz in its striving for equality. It was the realism of the kibbutz in meeting these problems, and trying to find an answer to them instead of blindly following a rigid dogma, which enabled the kibbutz to gain strength as it grew. Had it associated itself as a society for ascetics who did not wish to gain any comfort out of life, had it made an immutable ideology out of primitive material standards of the pioneers of the kibbutz movement, then these problems might not have arisen. The result is that today, in the older kibbutzim especially, there is a high standard of development and a comparatively high standard of living. Housing is as good as in the cities of Israel; clothing, though it may be simpler, is adequate and, in most cases, food is better than average. It is, indeed, a great achievement that any wealth that does exist has come through collective effort and is being used collectively in such a way that no individual gains any material advantage over another.

In some ways collective living has changed since the early days. Some assert that it shows a tendency to revert back to the practices of the other society. It is not so. It may be true that the common shower-rooms, which used to be the centre of kibbutz gossip, are disappearing since houses are being built with all conveniences, but — unlike communal dining-halls — the shower-rooms were not an indispensable part of kibbutz life. Communal dining-halls are not only essential in order to maintain equality of food standards (and incidentally allowing a fair choice to the individual and making provision for special needs, diets, etc.), but are also the meeting-place and centre of all communal activities. That is why they have been retained. The shower-rooms had only incidental value and the communal "open" clothing-store had no value at all. That is why the latter were abolished.

Many outsiders believed that the large sums of money which German restitutions brought to individual kibbutz members would constitute a serious threat to the stability of the kibbutz and a test of strength to the idealism of its members. However, all the cynics who argued that most people live on kibbutz without any ideological convictions, but rather because they could do nothing better, were surprised. Only a very small

percentage left kibbutzim as a result of receiving such money; and on the whole it can be said that the kibbutz came out of this trial of strength with flying colours.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY

"Is the individual in the kibbutz only a number, one out of many, who has to forego his own personality for the sake of the community? Does not communal life automatically impose severe restrictions on the development of the individual?" These and similar questions are often asked by people looking at the kibbutz only superficially, and especially by those who feel that the development of one's own individuality is only possible at the expense of others.

Modern life has shown that no individual can live in a vacuum. All civilisation depends on the development of society; and any society, of whatever type, has to impose certain restrictions. But democracy maintains that restrictions are justified

only if they serve to protect its members against any outside threat or even against each other. No civilized society will allow the rule of "jungle law", or the operation of the dangerous doctrine of "survival of the fittest".

Moreover, individuals in any society are dependent on each other in more ways than one. You may be dependent on your employer (or your employees), or your neighbours, or on the "rules of the game", i.e. the general and accepted practices of society. Not all of this may be desirable or justified. But it is there, nevertheless.

The kibbutz has extended this protection of society to another field, that of economic and social equality, where in the past the vast majority of individuals have suffered under restrictions imposed by a system which they could not overcome. But the kibbutz has done this with a very important difference. It has allowed the individual member the complete and unlimited right to participate in decisions regarding the community's life.

Most of our normal democratic institutions suffer from the (probably unavoidable) weakness that, owing to the complexity of modern life, we have to delegate our rights of decision to elected representatives who may or may not represent our views correctly on all issues. The kibbutz, however, has gone back to the system of the Greek

city-states, with every member having a direct say, if he wishes, on every matter that concerns him.

Thus the highest authority in the kibbutz is the general meeting, which is usually held once a week. Theoretically, at least, the general meeting can discuss every facet of the community's life. In practice, for the sake of convenience, many of the less important matters are handed over to be dealt with by committees; but if a member feels dissatisfied with a decision of a committee, or if a committee cannot reach a conclusion, then the matter is referred back to the general meeting.

Some kibbutzim manage this procedure better than others, but one can usually recognise a good kibbutz by its success in keeping alive the democratic concept of popular participation in decisions without dragging discussions down to petty details.

Once a year a number of committees are elected to conduct the various aspects of kibbutz life: administration, the farm, culture, education, housing, work, absorption of new members, etc. These committees deal with day by day affairs in their particular fields, but they have no right of decision in matters of principle. Any of their actions can be, and often are, questioned by members of the general assembly. Not everybody will always be

satisfied with the decisions taken, but all democracy is based on the understanding that, if human beings are to live together, they cannot all be right at the same time and therefore have to accept majority rule.

In this short survey we cannot cover all the many activities of the various committees. Perhaps the most important one among them is the "Secretariat", which in most kibbutzim acts as a kind of government, comprising the heads of the most important departments, while in others it deals simply with administration and finance. Another very important committee on all kibbutzim is the "Members' Committee", or "Social Committee", consisting of a small number of specially elected members. This committee deals with the more delicate problems of community life, such as personal and social questions, and usually deals with all matters which have a bearing on the principles of collective living. This is the only committee which may decide not to give a full account of its deliberations to the general assembly, but it exercises this right only when the discussions are of a personal nature. All other aspects of kibbutz life are directed by one of the committees — housing is allocated to the Housing Committee, the school to the Education Committee, entertainment to the Cultural Committee, etc., and provi-

sion is made for consultation with members concerned, or with other committees, if a matter affects more than one such committee. Apart from the central executive positions, such as treasurer or farm manager, etc., all other public duties are performed in members' spare time and in addition to the normal work of the member concerned.

Once a year, too, a number of individuals are elected to important executive positions. Probably the most important is the General Secretary, who acts as a kind of Prime Minister, co-ordinating the work of the committees, presiding at meetings of the Secretariat and usually also at the general assembly and taking over all responsibility for the administration of the kibbutz. The Farm Manager and the Treasurer (who is usually liaison officer with outside organisations) are generally elected for a somewhat longer period, varying between two to five years, as these are positions which require specialised knowledge. Also elected at the same time are the Heads of the Committees, who have the task of convening committee meetings and seeing that committee decisions are implemented. Any of these office-holders may be re-elected for more than one year, but with the exception of the "professional" tasks mentioned above, this rarely occurs.

The obvious question which arises is: "Does not

this system lead to bureaucracy, tending to concentrate all executive power in the hands of a select few?" This is a very real danger and has indeed happened in some kibbutzim.

However, most kibbutzim have managed to avoid that danger by rotating executive positions whenever possible, sometimes even at the expense of efficiency. It is quite clear that not everybody is capable of being Treasurer, or head of the Education Committee, or indeed head of any committee. It is also clear that permanency will lead to a higher standard of efficiency.

An American efficiency expert who visited a kibbutz, shook his head when he saw the General Secretary typing away with two fingers. But he was absolutely amazed when the secretary explained that he had not bothered to learn to type properly because he was only doing the job temporarily and hoped to return to his tractor at the end of the year.

There is no reason that the secretary should not have learnt proper typing. It is also true that the lack of permanency very often makes for inefficiency. But the important point is that the social relationship between members is considered far more essential than efficiency. The knowledge that any executive will, when his period of office expires, return to work with all the other

members, and that he is in fact just one of them, breeds an attitude both on the part of the office-bearer himself, and on the part of the general public, which avoids the danger of bureaucracy. The good kibbutz, while realising that not everybody can do every job, will also see to it that the majority of members belong to at least one committee and that all who might fill an executive position well are given a chance to do so. In fact, far from having created a new "managerial" class, reluctant to relinquish its power, most kibbutzim are always anxiously searching for good secretaries, treasurers, heads of committees, etc.

Not one of these posts carries with it any material benefits, and it has often been asked what is the incentive for members to do their jobs properly. This is hard to answer. The same question may be asked with regard to any work done on the kibbutz. The fact is that most people have rediscovered that one may gain immense satisfaction merely by doing a job well and by seeing the community progress. Whether or not the "profit motive" is indispensable is a controversial question. The fact, that about 225 kibbutzim have managed without recourse to the "profit motive", and that 85,000 people work without needing the incentive of taking advantage of others, speaks for itself.

The kibbutz is perhaps the only type of society

in which people seldom compete with each other for "power". However, this is not solely due to the lack of incentive, but to the different values which the kibbutz has established. The "simple member" is not looked down upon. On the contrary, all members are respected for the work they do and for the way they participate in the ordinary duties of the community.

Thus it may happen during elections that some members go to a great deal of trouble to explain why they feel they should not be elected and why they prefer to continue their present work. This, no doubt, has serious disadvantages. It is hard to find office-bearers, and it is harder still to achieve any degree of permanency. In fact, this may be one of the most serious shortcomings of the kibbutz. But, socially, it preserves the classless society and, practically, it ensures the election of members on the strength of their merits and not in order to satisfy their wish for prestige or power. If it is true that power corrupts, then this is one danger which the kibbutz can easily avoid.

THE FAMILY AND EDUCATION

In the early days of the kibbutz movement, as in many other movements advocating far-reaching social changes, it was quite usual to throw accepted social institutions overboard as ballast. For instance, family life, or rather society's rules about family life, were often rejected outright.

Today the family has become the basic unit of every kibbutz. The only important difference in the status of the family in the kibbutz, as compared to the family in other types of society, is the absence of the economic factor as a family bond.

It may be true that the economic dependence of members of a family on each other helps to hold many families together. But the value of a bond, based mainly on material advantages, is at least

questionable. The fact that the divorce rate in kibbutzim is somewhat lower than in the rest of the country seems to show that the material bond has been replaced by one of love and mutual consideration.

Education in the kibbutz is communal, i.e. the child is brought up in a special nursery, goes on from there to pre-kindergarten classes, kindergarten, and finally to school. Education of the children is entrusted to specially trained members of the kibbutz, for whom this is a fulltime task. This does not mean, however, that the child has no intimate contact with his parents. At the end of the day, when the parents have returned from work, the child goes to its parent's room, where it spends with them the rest of the day and also Sabbath and Holidays. It is significant that, although the child spends all day in his "children's house", he always calls that the "house", whereas it is his parents' house that he calls "home". As both parents are free from economic worries and the mother does not have to wash the dishes or darn the socks, nor the father to do the odd jobs around the house, they can give their children their full attention and devotion during these hours.

Of course, like anywhere else, there are good parents and bad ones. There are those who will be only too glad when the children are busy with

their own games and occupations and leave the parents in peace and quiet. There are others who will show more understanding for their children's desire to enjoy their parents' company. But the pattern is found everywhere else too, and the objective conditions for a harmonious family relationship are there.

* The idea behind communal education is two-fold. (First) it has been realised that every profession needs a long period of study, yet one of the most vital matters of all, education, is often left to unqualified persons. Parents (in particular the mother) play an essential part in education by providing love and personal devotion. But a great deal of education cannot be given by the parents. That is perhaps the reason why, the kindergarten has now been accepted all over the world, and the general tendency is to lower kindergarten age.

Second, one of the basic concepts of the kibbutz has always been the emancipation of women, for while women are tied to the hearth and the nursery they cannot take their full place in the community.

The desire to give women equal status as workers and members of the community has also been one of the main reasons for having the children sleep in the children's houses. However, this arrangement has never been universal, and in some of the oldest

kibbutzim children sleep in their parents' home. Lately, many kibbutzim are re-examining the merits of the communal sleeping quarters. Those in favour of children sleeping at home maintain that the bond between parents and children is thereby strengthened. They also point out that the closeness of parent and child has important psychological advantages — it increases the child's (and parent's) feeling of security. On the other hand, those in favour of communal sleeping quarters claim that having children sleep at home would tie parents to the house and prevent their participation in community activities. They also state that no real psychological or educational advantage has as yet been established. The matter is still under discussion and no unified approach to the problem has been developed so far. While a number of kibbutzim have recently decided to change to the system of children sleeping at home, most kibbutzim maintain communal sleeping quarters.

It must be made clear however, that no kibbutz wishes to replace the parents' home with a communal system of education. Essentially, what is being attempted is to integrate the educational factors of family and community to their mutual advantage.

* It is therefore not surprising that kibbutz children are very much influenced by their parents

and resemble them in ways which cannot possibly be explained by heredity. In fact the relationship between parents and children is as intensive, if not more so in the kibbutz than anywhere else. Starting from kindergarten age, the time a child spends away from home is no longer than it would be under any other conditions, while the absence of economic and household worries in the kibbutz allows for more time to be devoted to the child during the hours the family spends together.

This, by the way, does not mean that in the kibbutz children cause no economic worry. As a matter of fact, the average kibbutz spends far more on education than it can afford. Education is usually to the age or eighteen and, in many cases, graduates are sent to special courses, agricultural or technical colleges, and sometimes to University. The standard of education on the kibbutz itself is extremely high and the children have the best material conditions of anybody on the kibbutz. Even while the adult members of a new kibbutz may still live in huts, their children have houses with all modern conveniences. It has indeed caused considerable financial difficulties in many kibbutzim, which in any case have to struggle along to keep themselves going. But it is doubtful whether this will ever really change, for the average

kibbutz member is quite willing to suffer privation, so long as he can provide decent educational facilities for his children.

ECONOMICS AND WORKS

As this booklet is concerned primarily with the social principles of kibbutz life, we can deal only very sketchily with other practical aspects. However, it must be remembered that no kibbutz can live on ideology alone. The kibbutz, as much as any private citizen, has to work hard in order to make a living.

Every businessman knows that in order to start a business, some initial capital is necessary. It is extremely rare to find millionaires who started as newspaper boys. The new kibbutz finds itself with, say, fifty or a hundred willing and capable young people, but no capital to start off with. As the kibbutzim have proved themselves vital to the development of the country, it is only natural that the National Institutions (The Jewish National

Fund and the Foundation Fund) should come to their aid.

The J.N.F. leases land to the new settlers for a period of forty-nine years, while the Foundation Fund provides a capital loan for investments, housing, etc. These loans are given for the first five years, usually followed by a larger development loan, after which the kibbutz is expected to be self-supporting and able to repay the loans.

Unfortunately, however, many such investments do not provide any income until much later, with the result that treasurers are continually looking for further (often private) loans in order to develop their settlement. The Government of Israel may give development loans too, but the means at its disposal are not very large. The kibbutz, on the other hand, does not want to stop its development and thus it has happened that through no fault of the kibbutz or of the National Institutions, kibbutzim have sometimes bitten off more than they could chew.

Of course, this could have been avoided had they concentrated on improving the lot of their present members and had not continually accepted new members. But the kibbutz movement has always considered itself an integral part of the Zionist Movement, for whom the absorption of new immigrants and their speedy integration into the

country's economy was, and is, the most important task. Here it must be emphasized again that all membership in the kibbutz is entirely voluntary. Everybody is free to join or leave the kibbutz, if he so wishes. Although the Government may provide some economic aid in the form of loans, the kibbutz is not government-run, nor even established by the Government. In fact, apart from voluntary membership in a country-wide kibbutz organisation, no outside authority has any direct say in kibbutz affairs.

A candidate wishing to join the kibbutz is first accepted for a trial period of one to three years, after which the full "members' assembly" votes whether to accept him or not. If there are no valid objections, he is usually accepted and henceforth enjoys the same full rights as any other member. A member leaving, receives all clothing, furniture, etc., in his possession at the time of leaving, plus a small cash allowance to set him up wherever he wishes to go. This policy, together with the desire for development of the settlement's resources, imposes a tremendous financial burden on the kibbutz and many kibbutzim have indeed incurred serious debts.

Most of the older kibbutzim have managed to overcome this problem; the only solution is continual development, which in the long run bears

fruit and recompenses for the hardships the settlers experienced earlier.

With this background in mind, it will now be easier to understand why work assumes such importance in kibbutz life. Naturally enough, a person spending the greater part of his day at his job expects some satisfaction from his work. In a kibbutz as much as anywhere else, a person's life is largely influenced by the way he feels about his work, and as far as is possible the kibbutz will try to provide a member with a job he likes.

Most settlements have quite a large variety of jobs available. There are various branches of farming, some industry, driving, teaching, cooking, nursing, administrative work, etc. Naturally, all this must be under the supervision of some authority, which in this case is the Work Committee functioning in close conjunction with the Farm and Economics Committee. One or two members of the Work Committee look after the daily work allocation together with the Farm Manager.

Theoretically every member is at their disposal for a daily allocation of work and can be put on any job. In practice, however, this is never done. Most people have permanent jobs in which they have acquired a certain proficiency and in which they find satisfaction, and only in exceptional cases of urgency (as for instance to cope with seasonal

labour on the farm) are people taken away from their usual work. Even then this usually requires quite a deal of negotiation both with the member himself and with the member in charge of the branch he usually works in.

There are some people who prefer not to have a permanent job but rather to wander from work to work. Because of the great number of seasonal jobs there is always a need for such "pekakim" (Hebrew for stoppers — put wherever needed to fill a gap) and new members usually fill this role for a few months. But most members can eventually find themselves a job they like, provided there is a niche for their type of work within that particular kibbutz. This, by the way, is far harder for women than for men, because the kibbutz can only give a restricted choice of profession to women. This is a problem which the kibbutz has to face together with all the rest of mankind.

LEISURE, CULTURE, ARTS

It can safely be said that the way in which a person spends his hours of leisure is an indication of his standard of culture. This applies to the kibbutz as much as to any individual or community.

It is also wise to remember that it takes all sorts of people to make a world — and a kibbutz. Every kibbutz will have some people more interested in cultural activities than others.

The Cultural Committee is responsible for the arranging of all cultural activities, including entertainments, visits to concerts, theatres, and public celebrations of national holidays, celebrations of all kinds within the kibbutz, lectures, excursions and tours, study circles, and many more. But the real standard of culture depends on the individual,

and no Cultural Committee could, or should, ever aim at the full organisation of an individual's leisure.

Yet the general cultural level in most kibbutzim is high, and certainly far higher than among farmers or workers anywhere else. A large proportion of kibbutz members either came to the kibbutz with a high standard of education, or else received it there. There are few members who do not read the papers daily and who are not regular readers of books. Many people who visit kibbutzim are surprised to see that these "yokels" have in their houses bookshelves of which many "intellectuals" would be proud, and have walls decorated with reproductions of classic and modern painters or sculptors. Discussions about politics, economics, philosophy and many other subjects are by no means uncommon, and many evenings are devoted to concerts of classical music.

Many members of kibbutzim are Members of Parliament (at present four of them are Ministers), leaders of the Federation of Labour, active in many public spheres, or regular contributors to the newspapers.

There are other members, however, who may show no interest at all in these activities, and a good many will content themselves with the weekly film show which is usually brought to the kibbutz.

But the above remarks were necessary in order to understand that the kibbutz is not an ordinary village community. It is, in fact, a centre of much of the nation's thought and cultural life. Experience has shown that well educated people make better members of kibbutzim (probably because an uneducated person finds it hard to understand the ideological basis of the kibbutz).

Apart from culture brought to it from the outside, the kibbutz also tries to foster its own creative culture. Much of this is the folk-culture type, especially in public celebrations of Jewish Festivals or local occasions, weddings, anniversaries, etc. Most kibbutzim have their own drama groups, some have choirs or orchestras, and others have painting or sculpture circles.

However, the position of the individual creative artist is one which, as yet, is not quite clear. Most artists anywhere will insist that they cannot be bound in any way to the needs or interests of society. The kibbutz, on the other hand, cannot allow any of its members who feel like it, to be freed from all other work. After all, who can say in advance who is a real artist and has real talent and who is not?

This is a conflict which has not yet been solved. A few artists in one kibbutz are free to devote practically any time they find necessary to their

artistic work, while many others produce remarkable work — writing, painting, sculpture, composing — in their spare time or in a more limited work-time allowed them by the kibbutz.

The nation-wide kibbutz organisations hold periodical gatherings where artists can meet, exchange opinions, and discuss their work. Exhibitions of works by kibbutz artists are held frequently. Though this problem concerns only a very few of its members, it will ultimately have to occupy the minds of all thinking people in the kibbutz movement.

To provide for the majority of its members, the kibbutz tries to cater to all possible tastes, while providing objective conditions for a general cultural development. This is made easier by the high general standard of culture in Israel, where many theatre companies and the Philharmonic Orchestra spend much of their time travelling round the country, so that the enjoyment of good music and drama is not limited to city dwellers alone.

Each kibbutz provides facilities allowing members to make the most of their leisure time. The budget of a kibbutz always includes a comparatively high allocation for culture; there are communal reading-rooms where most of the important periodicals are available, and there is always a library.

At this stage it may be useful to add a few

words about other leisure activities of the kibbutz member. He gets, of course, a yearly holiday (usually of 10-14 days) and the kibbutz is financially responsible for this as for all other needs of the member. Many kibbutzim have a permanent house at a seaside resort or a permanent booking in a boarding-house, where members take it in turn to spend their holidays. Other people may prefer to visit friends in the city or go hiking. Within the limits of its budget the kibbutz provides for all those possibilities.

THE KIBBUTZ POPULATION

The total kibbutz membership today is 85,355 living in 225 settlements. A breakdown of this population is given in the following table.

	<i>Number Percent</i>	
Members living in settlements	44,482	32,1
Temporary residents	5,059	5,9
<hr/>		
Total of Workers	49,541	58,0
Kibbutz children	27,688	32,5
Outside children	2,499	2,9
Youth Aliyah & Israel youth	3,229	3,8
Parents and relatives of members	2,398	2,8
<hr/>		
Over-all Total	85,355	100%

The number of workers — 49,541 — is more than half of the total kibbutz membership. Youth and parents also work part-time. However, this contribution is not normally registered in official kibbutz records. The definition of a worker in the kibbutz — which differs from that accepted elsewhere — must be noted. In the kibbutz the women are also included in the labour force (child-care, laundry, cooking, etc.) while in the State of Israel manpower only includes wage earners.

Children make up a third of the total kibbutz population. If we include Youth Aliyah* and children accepted from outside the kibbutz and educated in kibbutz institutions, the proportion is 39,2 percent corresponding to the percentage of children in the population of Israel.

Many changes have taken place in the composition of the kibbutz population over the past thirty years. The majority of members settled in kibbutzim when they were young and single. Marriages and the birth of children took place within the kibbutz. Almost no families entered the kibbutzim during the early days, and later only a small number joined. Thus the growth of kibbutzim has been, in large part, dependent on natural increase and

*Groups of immigrant youth who work half a day and continue their studies during the second half.

the absorption of Youth Groups. Today most new kibbutz members come from youth movement groups. The Pioneering Youth Movement educates its members to "self-realisation", meaning the demand that youngsters put the national and social ideals of the movement into practice in everyday life. At the age of 18 these young people enter Nachal, an Army corps which is a combination of military service and agricultural training, and later join existing settlements or establish new ones. The table on page 56 shows the changes in kibbutz population during the last thirty years.

Since 1937, the number of workers in kibbutzim has increased four and a half times, the number of children has increased tenfold, and the number of parents and relatives fourfold. Children from outside the kibbutz and from Youth Aliyah groups, accommodated in practically all kibbutzim, do not belong organically to the collective settlement. The number of children in these categories is limited by extraneous factors such as the scope of the work of Youth Aliyah which finances their training, and which changes from time to time and from kibbutz to kibbutz. The increase in the number of parents, however, has not been up to expectations, the reason being the fate of European Jewry, in which a large part of the parents of kibbutz members perished.

Year	Workers	Kibbutz children	Other children	Youth Groups	Parents & Relat.	Total
1926	1,776	472	—	—	597	2,248
1936	9,929	2,652	95	637	970	13,910
1946	25,961	12,751	1,991	2,694	2,441	44,367
1956	43,037	26,390	3,524	4,956	2,398	80,348
1961	49,541	27,688	2,499	3,229	—	85,355

The age-structure of the kibbutz movement compared to the community as a whole and to other types of agricultural settlements is shown in percentages in the table that follows:

Age	Kibbutz movem.	All Israel	Urban Popul.	Rural Popul.	Mosh-avim*	Rural Settl.
0—1	5.0	5.3	4.9	6.7	8.2	7.3
2—12	26.6	26.4	25.4	29.7	32.3	30.9
13—18	16.4	8.3	7.5	11.1	8.1	8.7
19—64	50.1	55.2	57.0	49.3	48.8	49.0
65 up	1.9	4.8	5.2	3.2	2.6	4.1

Summing up, we see that about half of the total kibbutz population is below the age of 18, while in the whole of Israel the population under 18 is only 40 percent.

*: cooperative mell-holders settlements.

In the absence of the necessary data on the 19—64 age group we are unable to verify a feature indicated by other population studies — that the productive age (18—45) is more highly represented in the kibbutz population than elsewhere. The percentage of aged persons, which is very low in kibbutzim, again underlines the unusually low average age level of the kibbutz movement's population.

ICHUD HAKVUTZOT VEKIBBUTZIM

The kibbutzim are organized in several federations according to their ideological or political outlook. The largest of these, comprising 83 settlements, is *Ichud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim* (Union of Collective Settlements). 74 of the "*Ichud*" Settlements lean towards Mapai, the Israel Labour Party, which has been the senior coalition partner in Israel governments since the creation of the State. Among the other settlements affiliated to the "*Ichud*" can be found such diverse elements as the 5 kibbutzim of the "*Noar Hatzioni*" (Liberal) and the 2 of the "*Poalei Agudat Israel*" (Orthodox Workers). Within the "*Ichud*" all these settlements enjoy autonomy in matters of religion, education and political affiliation.

From its central offices in Tel Aviv, the "*Ichud*"

provides its member settlements with advice and assistance in the economic, social, cultural and organizational spheres. To this end a number of departments have been set up, staffed by members of kibbutzim. We can here list only the most important of these, in order to give an idea of the wide range of their activities.

The *Social Guidance Department* advises kibbutzim as well as individual members on any social problems which may arise. The department also cooperates with the Sociology Department of the Hebrew University in a research project on problems of collective society.

The *Cultural Department* assists the kibbutzim in securing visits of entertainers, artists and lecturers. It also helps them to organize seminars lasting from several days to a month, during which time the participants work part of the day and devote the rest of the day to study. In addition, seminars on a variety of topics and lasting from 2 weeks to 6 months are held at the *Ichud's* seminar center at Beit Berl, near Tel Aviv. The Cultural Department also provides advice and material on the celebration of holidays, in keeping with the spirit of the new pioneering Israel, and fosters hobbies such as music, painting and sculpture, photography, dramatics and chess, as well as study circles on various subjects. For most of

these activities there are annual meetings and competitions. The kibbutz movement maintains an orchestra and a dramatic group, and each kibbutz federation has a choir.

The *Education Department* supervises the activities of the educational institutions ranging from children's houses to kindergartens and elementary and high schools. (As a rule kibbutz children study for 12 years). Trained psychologists are available for child guidance, if needed. Together with the other kibbutz federations, the "*Ichud*" maintains three teachers' seminaries, where high standards attract many students who are not members of kibbutzim.

The *Absorption Department* directs new immigrants to kibbutzim and assists them in adjusting to their new environment.

Of special interest are the 6-month Hebrew Seminars (*Ulpanim*) operated by this department. In the "*Ichud*" kibbutzim there are 21 *Ulpanim* where 1,200 new immigrants and tourists combine work and study. The students receive tuition, board and lodging, sickness insurance, pocket money, etc. in return for their work. Facilities are also available for the reception of families and lately special seminars have been held for youth from the ages of 16—18.

The *Health Department* advises on all matters

of medical care including preventative medicine, and assists in the training of nurses, therapists, etc.

The *Publications Department* issues a number of periodicals, a monthly magazine, a weekly newspaper, a bi-monthly devoted to problems of education, and magazines for kibbutz youth. The department has also published (in Hebrew) several books dealing with matters pertaining to the kibbutz.

The *Manpower Department* regulates the reinforcement of young settlements. This department also directs visitors who wish to spend some time (from 1—6 months) working on a kibbutz.

Several departments are devoted to the regulation of the financial and economic activities of the "Ichud" and its member settlements. Among these, the *Economic Department* provides aid and advice on matters of the development and management of agricultural branches, investment planning and execution as well as the management of consumer and service branches. Special departments exist to organize the wholesale supply of clothing and to advise on the maintenance of kitchens and dining-rooms. The *Technical Department* handles the planning of homes and farm buildings and the *Industrial Department* deals with the planning and promotion of factories. The "Ichud" also maintains a *Credit Fund* for its settlements, financed through the year-

ly purchase of securities by the member settlements. This fund serves as the chief instrument for mutual aid between the kibbutzim.

The "Ichud" also organizes the wholesale buying of supplies and materials. It operates an *Investment Center* which attracts business men and firms interested in investing in kibbutz industries. Together with the other Kibbutz Federations, the "Ichud" organizes courses for the training of administrators, branch managers and agricultural technicians.

The economic potential of the settlements of the "Ichud" is considerable. 580,000 dunam of land were cultivated in 75 member settlements, of which 160,000 dunam were under irrigation.*

There are more than 37 factories and large workshops in 80 settlements. Of these 6 are carpentry shops and furniture factories, 12 are metal works or manufacture agricultural machinery. 5 process food-stuffs (preserves, fruit juices, etc.), 3 are dehydration plants for processing lucerne used in cattle concentrates. 3 settlements operate large bakeries, 2 own printing shops. There are also factories producing shoes, plastic goods, textiles and bicycles, and a number of enterprises producing such varied items as sprinklers and other

*For a more detailed table on the economic potential of the kibbutzim, see pp. 81—82.

irrigation equipment, water meters, electronic devices, toys, cutlery and stainless steel components.

Some of the factories are among the largest in Israel, e.g. the plywood factory of "Kelet" in Kibbutz Afikim with an annual production of 11,8 million Israel Pounds in 1961 and "Ta'al" in Mishmarot with an annual output of I.L. 9,8 million in the same year.

The factories are owned either by one or more kibbutzim, or jointly by kibbutz and private capital. Some experiments have been made lately with district industries, which are owned by a number of kibbutzim and which, in some cases, constitute an attempt to widen communal production from the small group to a whole district.

In addition to industry and agriculture in all its branches, there are 7 rest houses containing 1400 beds, which are recognised as hotels by the Government Tourist Office. These were established primarily in mountainous regions, where farming does not constitute a large source of income.

"Ichud", being the central federation of all these settlements, also represents them officially in their relations with the Government, the Ministry of Agriculture, the settlement institutions, etc. "Ichud" looks after planning, social education etc. in the kibbutzim. The main offices of "Ichud" with their various departments, are situated in Tel-Aviv.

The "Ichud" settlements are steadily expanding their farms, in order to cope with the demand for absorption of new immigrants and the economic integration of the new generation. This consideration in no small measure promoted the industrialisation of settlements during recent years. Existing factories were improved and brought up to date, while new ones are under consideration and construction.

THE KIBBUTZ AND THE NATION

If one remembers that originally the kibbutz was created primarily to meet the needs of the Zionist Movement and the new immigrants between 1905-1910, one will understand that the importance of the kibbutz lies not only in its distinctive social framework but that as great an importance is to be attached to its continued willingness and ability to fulfil tasks which are of vital importance to the whole country.

Throughout the last fifty years no other form of settlement has been able to apply itself so efficiently to the national needs of the country as the kibbutzim. This valuable work was done in a number of different ways. First of all, as far as the actual settlement is concerned, it is quite obvious that it is cheaper to settle a group of say, 100 people on a certain tract of land and provide

them with the necessary loans for equipment, live stock, etc., than to set up 50 separate family units on the same land. At first the Jewish national institutions were rather reluctant to invest money in an, as yet, untried experiment, but they were soon convinced that with the limited resources available, kibbutzim offered the greatest opportunity of providing productive work and housing for a large number of new immigrants.

It must also be remembered that the vast majority of the newcomers were not farmers. The majority, in fact, had never been engaged in manual work of any kind. The Zionist movement has always prided itself on not only returning Jews to their own land, but also revolutionising the social pattern of the people. For many centuries, and in most countries where they lived, Jews were not allowed to enter the professions or to own land, but were forced to engage in trade only. When emancipation finally began, a few Jews drifted into various "free" professions — medicine, law, etc., but not until they settled in their own country was it possible for them to enter the field of primary production and agriculture.

How were these city-bred people to be made into efficient farmers — and to work and live on the land? Clearly they could not be set up as independent farmers immediately. Some attempts

were made to establish national training farms, but in these the direct interest of the worker in his land was missing. Again it was the kibbutzim which solved the problem and managed to integrate completely untrained people into their productive economy. Later the cooperative small-holders' settlements (*moshavim*) were established and they have absorbed many thousands of immigrants, especially during the last 50 years, when most of the newer immigrants came from backward countries of the Middle East, where the idea of collective living was frowned upon. But there is little doubt that the change-over to farming and other productive work was fastest and most efficient in kibbutzim, and that the national institutions still spend less on a new immigrant going to the kibbutz than on those who settle elsewhere. The importance of these facts must not be underrated, especially since the State of Israel has proclaimed the absorption of new Jewish immigrants as one of its major *raison d'être*.

Owing to the particular position in which Israel finds herself, the question of defence is no less important. Already in the early stages of settlement the new settlers were continually attacked by marauding Arab gangs. After a short while they established a special group of watchmen (the "*Hashomer*" organization) which was later suc-

ceeded by a countrywide self-defence organization, called "*Haganah*". Naturally, a united collective settlement had much better chances of defending itself than the spread-out villages of independent farmers. Forming a compact unit, its members were easily available for any defence duty, and they went to work literally with one hand grasping the plough and the other one the rifle. When, at a later stage, the *Haganah* formed a special commando troop, the *Palmach*, the vast majority of its members came from kibbutzim, and *Palmach* units were always based on various kibbutzim, where they took part in some of the work and devoted the rest of their time to duties of defence. This task could have been undertaken only by kibbutzim, where collective needs could be placed above the possible material losses to the individual.

When the Israeli War of Independence broke out, it was mostly thanks to a large number of border kibbutzim that the invading armies of six Arab States were stopped. All the might of the Egyptian army in its drive northwards towards Tel-Aviv was stopped by the small kibbutz Negba, whose members lived underground for weeks and held their settlement against the heaviest odds, and contrary to all professional military theory and advice. Similarly, the Syrians in their attempt to invade the Jordan Valley were stopped by the

old established kvutza Degania. The one tank which got as far as the security fence of Degania was put out of action by a hand-thrown "Molotov Cocktail", and the remains of the burnt-out tank can still be seen on the same spot. All over the country the settlers organized in kibbutzim were successful in stopping the first attack, thus giving the regular Army time to organize itself for the counter-attack.

Today the small country of Israel shares some 600 miles of border with her still hostile neighbours. Much of this border is situated in the as yet under-developed southern part of Israel — the Negev.

Private enterprise was not very keen to operate in areas where quick profits and returns for investments were out of the question. Moreover, defence of any private settlement in such areas would have been very difficult indeed. Once more kibbutzim, together with moshavim, undertook this task. But even in the more populated northern parts of the country Israel's most effective barrier against Arab infiltration and raids are the kibbutzim, which are situated all along the borders. Experience has shown that the close settlement of an isolated border area constitutes its most effective military protection and best possibility of defence.

These duties impose a very heavy financial

burden on the kibbutzim, especially the young and recently settled ones. If we add to this all the other national duties a kibbutz takes upon itself — the participation of its members in all sorts of public duties, the costly absorption of immigrants, the sending of emissaries to assist new immigrants or to carry out various educational missions to the Jews of the world, the active participation of its members in the political, economic, cultural and social life of Israel — it will be understood that all this would have been impossible were it not for the collective nature of the kibbutz economy.

Even so, many kibbutzim may suffer financially as a result of these duties, but a kibbutz would lose much of its value were it to exist only for the sake of its own members. The kibbutz was always meant to help solve not only social problems, but also national ones.

WORLD ICHUD HABONIM

The Youth Movement of Ichud Habonim has as its aim the education of Jewish Youth in the Diaspora towards the principles of Zionism and Pioneering.

Ichud Habonim is active today in 28 countries: in North and South America, in South Africa, in Australia and New Zealand, and in the majority of the countries of Western Europe.

The Movement has a membership of some 20,000; with ages varying between 10 and 20 years. Since its beginnings in the 1930's, more than 5,000 of its graduates have actively implemented the principles of Pioneering Zionism by coming to Israel where, amongst others, they have joined or actively participated in the founding of 17 kibbutzim, which are situated in all parts of the country, from Maayan Baruch in Northern Galilee, to Tzeelim, in the Negev.

The graduates of Ichud Habonim in the various English speaking countries have founded or re-enforced the following kibbutzim: Kfar Hanassi, Kfar Blum, Beit Haemek, Amiad, Yizrael, Tzora, Ma'ayan Baruch, Urim and Gesher Haziv.

Ichud Habonim, through its World Executive Offices in Tel-Aviv, is instrumental in maintaining a force of Youth Leaders from Israel, each of whom spends a period of three years or more in one of the various countries where Ichud Habonim is active. There they provide the educational and practical guidance for the leaders and active workers of the movement in each particular country or area. At the same time they leave each 'national' movement to run itself independently, in the way which is best suited to the particular local conditions prevailing.

Before his departure from Israel, each youth leader participates in an 8 months' training course, where he studies both practical and theoretical subjects relevant to his work among Jewish Youth in the Diaspora.

World Ichud Habonim, through its 'national' movements, yearly concentrates a number of its active younger members from the Diaspora in special leadership courses, which are held at the permanent Leadership College in Jerusalem, under the auspices of the Jewish Agency. During this

course, and in addition to their studies, these young people hike and travel over all parts of Israel, and spend at least one month on a kibbutz, where they live and work in the same way as the members of the kibbutz. The intensive study of Hebrew is continued for the whole of the 12 months' duration of the course. On the conclusion of this course, and on their return to their countries of origin, these people form a cadre of active leaders within the Movement.

In addition, World Ichud Habonim organizes summer camps in Israel where, in the course of one month members of the various 'national movements tour Israel intensively, and also spend some time on one of the kibbutzim affiliated to Ichud Habonim, in order to get to know at first hand the realities of life on kibbutz.

While the Movement in its individual centres in the various countries is run by the locally elected leadership, the World Executive in Israel acts as a central organizing and liaison organ; as a clearing house and contacts office for practical details affecting the 'national' movements; as an advisory body on National and World Movement affairs, and as a publishing house for informative booklets and magazines, and for general educational material, which is published in the various languages spoken by members of the Movement throughout the world.

THE "ANGLO-SAXON" KIBBUTZIM

Some details about the kibbutzim established by groups from English-speaking countries are in place in the context of this booklet. Here then we give some brief descriptions of these settlements.

TZORA, a mixed settlement of Israelis and South Africans, was established in 1948 in the Judean Hills close to Jerusalem. Besides general agriculture and orchards, the settlement owns a bicycle factory. The average age of the South Africans in this kibbutz is 28 years. The total population is 215 souls, of whom 150 are adults.

MAAYAN BARUCH, Israelis, South Africans and a sprinkling of other "Anglo-Saxons". Was established in 1948 in Upper Galilee. General agriculture and large tracts of artificial fishponds con-

stitute its main source of livelihood. It has a population of 180 souls including 120 adults. The average age of the "Anglo-Saxon" element is 37 years.

YIZRAEL is a kibbutz of Australian, South African and Israeli members, founded in 1948. Mixed farming is the main source of income. Population 130 souls, 100 adults; average age of South African-Australian group is 25. Situated in the Yezreel Valley, near Afulah.

KFAR BLUM was established in 1940 in the Huleh Valley and has a mixed population coming from such countries as Britain, South Africa, U.S., India, Latvia, Lithuania, etc. The economy of the kibbutz is based on mixed agriculture, orchards, fishponds and a drying plant which produces alfalfa meal primarily for the market.

There is a population of 300 adults, and the 600 souls on the settlement comprise all age groups. There is a district High School for the older children within the kibbutz.

KFAR HANASSI was established by British immigrants in 1948. The economy of the kibbutz is based on general agriculture, orchards and fishponds. There is also a large and developing factory for metal castings of all sorts. The population of 300 souls also includes members from Australia

and France, and a small number of Israelis. The age group is from 20 to 40.

BETH HAEMEK was founded in 1949 in Western Galilee near Nahariya, has a mixed population of Hungarian, Dutch and British members. The settlement is based on mixed agriculture and banana plantations. There are 170 members, of whom 100 are adults of up to 32 years of age.

AMIAD was founded in 1947 in Upper Galilee, between Tiberias and Rosh-Pina. There is a large group of English and Dutch settlers and a smaller one of Israelis and Central Europeans; the average age of the English-Dutch group being 29—30. The settlement derives its living from banana plantations, orchard and general agriculture, including a large beef herd. There are 200 souls of whom 120 are adults.

GESHER HAZIV was founded in 1949 by a group of members of a kibbutz on the North side of the Dead Sea which had been overrun by the Jordanians, and by a large contingent of Americans. The kibbutz economy is based on citrus groves, banana plantations, and general agriculture. There is a district High School within the kibbutz, which is situated in Hestern Galilee close to Nahariya. The population of the kibbutz includes 330 souls, of whom 140 are adults.

URIM was established in 1946 in the Northern Negev in the region of Beersheba. It has a population of Israelis and Americans, who work at intensive farming and are proud of their prize dairy herd which is one of the best in the country. They also have extensive orchards. Recently they set up a factory making stainless steel cutlery. The average age of the Americans is 29, and there are 230 people in the kibbutz of whom 130 are adults.

All these kibbutzim are based mainly on agriculture, including all forms of livestock breeding, dry-crop farming, farming under irrigation, orchards, etc. Each kibbutz has a garage, wood and metal workshop, and other technical services for the farm.

KIBBUTZIM AFFILIATED TO ICHUD HAKVUTZOT VEHAKIBBUTZIM

Afikim	Hadassa-Gezer×	Mishmarot
Alumot	Hafetz Hayim+	Nahal-Oz
Amiad×	Hamadia	Neve-Eitan
Ashdot-Yaakov	Hanita×	Neve-Yam
(Ichud)	Haon	Netzer-Sereni
Ayelet-Hashachar	Hasollelim+	Nir-Eliyahu
Bahan+	Hatzerim×	Nir-Am×
Bet-Haemek×	Hulda	Nitzanim+
Bror-Chayil×	Kinneret	Notera °
Degania A	Kfar-Aza	Or-Haner×
Degania B	Kfar-Blum×	Ramat-David
Dorot	Kfar-Giladi	Ramat-Yochanan
Dovrat	Kfar-Hachoresh	Ramat-Rachel
Ein-Charod	Kfar-Hamaccabi	Rosh-Hanikra
(Ichud)	Kfar Hanassi×	Sde-Nechemia
Ein-Gedi	Kfar-Ruppim	Sde-Boker
Ein-Gev	Kfar-Glickson+	Sha'alavim+
Einat	Kiryat-Anavim	Tel-Yosef
Ein-Hashlosa+	Kvutzat-Shiller	Tel-Katzir
Erez×	Magal	Tel-Yitzchak+
Gal-Ed	Massada	Tzeelim×
Ganigar	Maagan	Tzorah×
Gesher-Haziv×	Maayan-Baruch×	Urim×
Geva	Maayan-Zvi	Usha+
Gevim	Maale-Hachamisha	Yizreel×
Givat-Chaim	Matzuba×	Yifat
(Ichud)	Mefalsim×	Yiftach
Gonen	Mishmar-David	Yotvata
Grofit °	Mishmar-Hasharon	

- + Kibbutzim which, though not affiliated, are in contact with Ichud Hakvutzot VEHAKIBBUTZIM and its various departments.
- × Kibbutzim which were founded by or which have absorbed groups (gar'inim) of settlers who are graduates of World Ichud Habonim.
- ° A border settlement combining agriculture and defence.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE

Item	Total National Production	Total kibbutz movement	Percentage of National Production	Ichud Hakvutzot Vehakibbutzim	Percentage of National Production
Milk (million litres)	316	93	29,0	33	11,0
Eggs (million)	1,277	233	16,0	94	7,4
Beef (tons)	22,500	9,000	37,0	3,000	13,0
Chicken meat (tons)	66,400	19,000	29,0	7,100	11,0
Fish (ond-grown - tons)	16,400	9,000	55,0	3,200	20,0
Vegetables (tons)	292,000	46,000	12,0	20,000	5,4
Grapes (tons)	42,100	17,000	40,0	6,000	14,0
Bananas (tons)	49,200	46,000	94,0	24,000	49,0
Deciduous fruit (tons)	71,600	38,000	53,0	13,000	18,0
Hay (tons)	104,000	55,000	53,0	23,000	22,0
Sugar Beet (tons)	221,000	97,200	44,0	38,500	17,4
Cotton (tons)	41,670	28,000	37,0	9,950	24,0
Grain Crops (tons)	157,150	84,000	54,0	29,700	19,0

Some useful Addresses :

ICHUD HABONIM

111 Hayarkon Street
Tel Aviv

ICHUD HAKVUZOT VEKIBBUTZIM

123 Hayarkon Street
Tel Aviv

For "Working Visit" to Kibbutz (1 month minimum)
Apply to Manpower Department

For 5-month Hebrew Ulpan (Combines Work and Study)
Apply to Absorption Department

TOURIST HOTELS AND REST HOMES IN "ICHUD" KIBBUTZIM :

Jerusalem Area (Judean Hills)

Kiryat Anavim
Ma'aleh Hachamisha

P.O. Kiryat Anavim
Mobile Post Judean Hills

Sharon (Coast) Neve Yam

Post Haifa

Western Galilee

Chanita
Gesher Haziv
Rosh Hanikra

Mobile Post
Mobile Post
Mobile Post

Western Galilee
Western Galilee
Western Galilee

Lower Galilee

Kfar Hachorash

P.O.B. 46

Afula

Upper Galilee

Ayelet Hashachar
Kfar Giladi
Kfar Blum

Moblie Post
Moblie Post
Moblie Post

Upper Galilee
Upper Galilee
Upper Galilee

